

**EXPERT STEVEN EMERSON
(Liability)**

Terrorism, al-Qaeda, the Sudan and the Bombing of the USS Cole
by Steven Emerson
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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Steven Emerson", is written below the typed name.

From the attacks on American troops in Mogadishu, Somalia in 1991 thru the attacks of September 11, 2001, no country, with the notable exception of Afghanistan, was more pivotal to the successful ability of Al-Qaeda to launch international terrorism attacks than the Sudan. The Sudan provided physical security to Osama bin Laden, a safehaven to establish terrorist training camps, bases to practice terrorist operations, state credentials and passports for terrorists to travel around the world, a banking repository to store millions of dollars of Osama bin Laden's wealth and a magnet for international jihadists to launch attacks against the United States.

The relationship between the Sudan, under the leadership of Hassan al Turabi and al-Qaeda's leader, Osama bin Laden, began in the early 1990's when al-Turabi invited bin-Laden to relocate from Afghanistan, where he had just been successful in evicting the Soviet occupiers, to the Sudan which could serve as a safehaven for the head of Qaeda and his minions of growing jihadists whose chief goal was to strike at US interests around the globe.

In February 1993, the bombing of the World Trade Center and the subsequent plot on New York City landmarks, represented the first attack by Al Qaeda terrorists on the American homeland. In preparing for those attacks, the offices of the Sudanese Embassy in New York provided logistical support to key members of the conspirators. In fact, the diplomatic offices of the Sudanese Government was named as a "un-indicted co-conspirator" in those attacks. Following the attacks, the Sudanese Government provided a safehaven for members of the Al Qaeda network from the long arm of American law and defense. This was to be a pattern that was repeated throughout the 1990's right up until the 9-11 attacks when Sudan provided a base to practice bombings against US targets, a safe haven to organize attacks and issue fatwas—or religious decrees—against the US, diplomatic credentials to terrorists to travel freely around the globe and a center of international jihadist activity. In intelligence circles, Khartoum was nicknamed "Jihad Central" because of the inordinate concentration of radical Islamic terrorists of all stripes but mostly representing al Qaeda.

In 1998, Sudan provided a base for al Qaeda terrorists to hone their murderous skills before launching the twin attacks on the US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. In the aftermath of the attacks, the US retaliated rather fecklessly, with virtually meaningless strikes against Al Qaeda targets in Afghanistan and the Sudan. Those attacks had no deterrence. Bin Laden together with his partner in crime Sheik Turabi, immediately continued training their joint operations against the United States. The environment was target rich. Al Qaeda did not need to penetrate the US homeland to hurt the United States; US military targets, diplomatic facilities, American owned commercial property—all located in nearly every corner of the world, on land and on the high seas, were all considered fair game in this asymmetrical war. Suicide bombers were nearly impossible to

stop or deter. And hardening the perimeter around worldwide US diplomatic facilities and military targets—from bases to ships—was a physical and prohibitively financial task. This was a reality that ironically Osama bin Laden seemed more aware of than those tasked with protecting our country.

The evidence behind the collaborative relationship between Al Qaeda and the Sudan was an open secret. Bin Laden had openly set up banks, training camps, safehouses, military depots, and madrassas schooled in radical Islamic theology throughout northern Sudan with a disproportionate presence in Khartoum. Bin Laden availed himself to the beneficence of al Turabi, who received hundreds of millions of dollars as well as notoriety as one of the world's leading jihadists in exchange for providing bin Laden with everything a terrorist chieftain could ask for.

In the Sudanese countryside, bin Laden set up dozens of training camps and military facilities where scores if not hundreds of battle hardened jihadists and would-be jihadist volunteers from around the Middle East, Africa and Persian Gulf would train and practice in creating bombs, practicing terrorist attacks, acquiring martial arts and studying all the intelligence on US and Western targets that would flow into bin Laden's command center from innocent looking jihadists traveling on forged passports around the globe scoping out the locations and vulnerabilities of key US targets—from Embassies to military targets. Among the targets considered most vulnerable were American warships in Gulf of Aden, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean all parked within a motor boat's range of bin Laden's forward supply bases such as Yemen and all known to have travelled the same route in their practice military training exercises. This provided a bonanza of potential targets to bin Laden, who would soon focus his jihadi plans on two US battleships in particular in the year 2000, the USS Sullivan and the USS Cole.

To be sure, the US was not the only target of bin Laden or of Turabis' National Islamic Front (NIF). Other terrorist groups included the Gama Al-Islamiya of Egypt, responsible for the assassination of Anwar al Sadat, the Iranian trained Hizbollah, Palestinian Hamas and Islamic Jihad, and even the Abu Nidal Organization. Each of the estimated 30 terrorist camps in the Sudan was known for their technical expertise, such as assassinations, suicide bombings, large target demolitions, remote controlled bombings and taking over embassies. Terrorists were also provided with the national defense uniforms worn by American, Israeli, Egyptian and European defense personnel. Once the terrorists were in striking range of their targets, depending on whether they were on friendly soil like Yemen or Pakistan, they would avail themselves to short range transportation vehicles on land, in the air and in the seas. These included explosive packed Land Rovers, light planes and motor boats. There was virtually nothing that was not available either through smuggling or outright purchases to Al Qaeda.

In the 1990's, bin Laden would divide his operations between the lawless Afghanistan and the friendly turf of the Sudan. Hence in 1993 the United States would place Sudan on the select list of

terrorist supporting nations which also included Iran, Syria, and North Korea among others. This terrorist designation resulted in economic sanctions being applied to these countries usually prohibiting an entire range of economic transactions as well as a seizure of state assets.

According to the 1999 annual State Department report "Patterns of Global Terrorism", Sudan's role in supporting and enabling international terrorism most notably bin Laden's al Qaeda organization was an open secret:

The 1999 report stated as follows:

Sudan in 1999 continued to serve as a central hub for several international terrorist groups, including Usama Bin Ladin's al-Qaida organization. The Sudanese Government also condoned Iran's assistance to terrorist and radical Islamist groups operating in and transiting through Sudan.

Khartoum served as a meeting place, safehaven, and training hub for members of the Lebanese Hizballah, Egyptian Gama'at al-Islamiyya, al-Jihad, the Palistinian Islamic Jihad, HAMAS, and Abu Nidal organization. Sudan's support to these groups included the provision of travel documentation, safe passage, and refuge. Most of the groups maintained offices and other forms of representation in the capital, using Sudan primarily as a secure base for organizing terrorist operations and assisting compatriots elsewhere.

Sudan still had not complied with UN Security Council Resolutions 1044, 1054, and 1070 passed in 1996—which demand that Sudan end all support to terrorists—despite the regime's efforts to distance itself publicly from terrorism. They also require Khartoum to hand over three Egyptian Gama'at fugitives linked to the assassination attempt in 1995 against Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in

Ethiopia. Sudanese officials continued to deny that they are harboring the three suspects and that they had a role in the attack.

By the end of the year 1999, tens of millions of dollars of Sudanese assets had been frozen by the US Government. Though Sudan pleaded poverty, Osama bin Laden had made good on his promise to Turabi to replenish Sudan's treasury dollar for dollar of all seized and frozen assets.

But Turabi now realized he could play a double game. In response to American diplomatic outreach with the allure of unfreezing those millions of dollars in assets, Turabi responded positively to those US feelers trying to gauge whether the Sudan could be "persuaded" to stop its support for terrorism. So while Turabi was feted by American diplomats who he told he would end his patronage of al Qaeda and other terrorist groups, at the same time, he continued his support for these groups in secretly providing safehavens, military supplies and diplomatic credentials.

From the year 2000 annual State Department Report "Patterns of Global Terrorism":

Sudan

The United States and Sudan in mid-2000 entered into a dialogue to discuss US counterterrorism concerns. The talks, which were ongoing at the end of the year, were constructive and obtained some positive results. By the end of the year Sudan had signed all 12 international conventions for combating terrorism and had taken several other positive counterterrorism steps, including closing down the Popular Arab and Islamic Conference, which served as a forum for terrorists.

Sudan, however, continued to be used as a safehaven by members of various groups, including associates of Usama Bin Ladin's al-Qaida

organization, Egyptian al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya, Egyptian Islamic Jihad, the Palestine Islamic Jihad, and HAMAS. Most groups used Sudan primarily as a secure base for assisting compatriots elsewhere.

Khartoum also still had not complied fully with UN Security Council Resolutions 1044, 1054, and 1070, passed in 1996--which demand that Sudan end all support to terrorists. They also require Khartoum to hand over three Egyptian Gama'a fugitives linked to the assassination attempt in 1995 against Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Ethiopia. Sudanese officials continued to deny that they had a role in the attack.

In the year 2000, bin Laden attempted to bomb the USS Sullivan while at sea but was unsuccessful. Months later, his patience paid results. Trained al Qaeda suicide bombers had acquired a speedboat off the coast of Yemen and waited until the USS Cole conducted its routine exercises before launching their craft straight for the hull of the battleship. Waving their hands in friendship as they were meters away from the ship, one of the terrorists detonated a powerful suicide bomb, believed to have been made up of dozens of pounds of Semtex, that instantly killed nearly two dozen servicemen on the ship and blowing a hole so large in the 6 to 12 inch armor that a truck could actually be driven through the massive crater on the side of the ship. This was to be bin Laden's height of terrorist glory until the infamous day of September 11, 2001.

It is vital to point out that bin Laden was not just lucky. He had diligently planned these attacks, sometimes years in advance, with the critical assistance of outside players and nations most notably the government of the Sudan. Hindsight of course is always easier than prospective predictions in the field of terrorism. But looking back at the operational structure of bin Laden's organization in the 1990's, his "successes" in carrying out terrorist attacks could not have been

made possible were it not for the invaluable state support and collaboration provided by Sudan.

The level of support provided by the Sudan to bin Laden was massive. I would like to insert into the record sections of congressional testimony I delivered in the year 1997 before the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The hearing focused on "Terrorism, the Sudan and US Counter-Terrorism Policy."

Appendix to Testimony of Steven Emerson

SELECTED CITATIONS

TERRORISM, SUDAN AND US COUNTER-TERRORIST POLICY

Terrorist Training Camps Operating in Sudan

"Between 20 and 30 camps shelter and train terrorists in Sudan. They include terrorists of various Arab and Islamic nationalities. ... Most of these camps are farms in isolated areas that have either been usurped or are owned by individuals who belong to the National Islamic Front."

SOURCE: *Rose al-Yusuf*, Sept. 4, 1995 (Cairo)

During the interrogation of Zakariya Bashir (one of the Sudanese terrorists held in the attempted assassination of Hosni Mubarak) revealed that Mustafa Hamzah, one of the four members of the Islamic Group's consultative council that participated in a meeting for its leaders in Afghanistan at the end of 1994, confirmed the following information: that al-Turabi and the Sudanese authorities welcomed extremist Islamic groups that were being pushed out of Pakistan to come to Sudan. There they [Sudan] would give them the necessary facilities, camps, weapons, and instructions they needed for their operations.

SOURCE: *Al-Musawwa*, July 7, 1995 (Cairo)

"As an eyewitness and as a minister in the top executive authority, I can emphatically confirm the presence of foreign terrorists groups which come and go and which work at camps for training terrorists in the various Sudanese provinces. There are secret official instructions to facilitate the movement of these groups and enable them to contact NIF members, each other, and the outside world."

Not only does the government allow these groups to operate with impunity, but it has also devised "a plan to back NIF supporters in the neighboring countries with the aim of changing the governments there, including opening recruitment camps in border areas and amassing large numbers of popular defense units to reinforce the activities of these groups in their respective countries."

SOURCE: Muhammad Ahmad 'Abd-al-Qadir al-Arbab, Minister Health and Social Affairs of Sudan in the province of Sannar quoted in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, March 28, 1995 (London)

"Sudan also has been a strong supporter of terrorists for export. In 1995, terrorists trained in a camp outside Khartoum with the express purpose of carrying out terrorist activities in Egypt. ... The Egyptian government claims at least 20 international training camps exist in Sudan, 17 of which are believed to be directly administered by the Islamic Sudanese government with the intention of training Muslim militants. ... Known to train in their own camps are terrorists from Libya and Egypt, as well as camps for Hezbollah, Hamas, and the Abu Nidal organization. ... One camp in particular is reported to specialize in the training of individuals selected to assassinate heads of state and other high-ranking political and governmental personalities."

SOURCE: *Jane's Intelligence Review*, March 1, 1997

As a Provider for Terrorists and Terrorist Organizations in Sudan and Abroad

Foreign Affairs Minister of Kenya [Stephen] Kalonzo Musyoka revealed the presence of multi-national terrorist groups, including Kenyan terrorists, in Sudan after attending a OAU ministerial session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

SOURCE: *KTN Television Network*, December 20, 1995 (Nairobi)

Lakhdar Ibrahim, Envoy of UN Secretary General Dr. Boutros-Boutros Gali, went to Sudan in order to persuade them to hand over the three suspects in the attempt on Hosni Mubarak. He brought proposals that included either the disclosure of, or extradition of the three suspects to Egypt. It is known that Egypt furnished the UN with a list of 317 terrorists known to the Egyptians to be hiding in Sudan.

SOURCE: *AL-ITTIHAD*, October 30, 1996 (Abu Dhabi)

"Sudan has emerged as a clear threat to the stability of nearby African and Middle Eastern states because of its support for subversive activities of regional opposition groups. This threat is likely to remain as long as the National Islamic Front (NIF) is the dominant political force in the country. In its efforts to spread its version of Islamic fundamentalism beyond Sudan and destabilize regional moderate governments friendly to the United States, the NIF supports

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insurgent and terrorist groups opposed to the government of Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Uganda. Sudan also provides safehaven and limited material support to other radical groups such as Hizballah, HAMAS, the Abu Nidal Organization, and the armed Algerian extremist groups."

SOURCE: Prepared statement of John Deutch, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency before the Senate Intelligence Committee Worldwide Threat Assessment, *Federal News Service*, February 22, 1996

"The Palestinian Islamist delegation which went to Sudan last week to meet with the Khartoum based Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] military leaders in an apparent bid to seek consensus for rapprochement with the Palestine authority returned to Gaza Wednesday with reportedly positive results. The delegation to Sudan included prominent Islamist figures such as Khalid al-Hindi, Sa'id al-Nimruti and 'Abdallah Muhannah along with the Amman-based Hamas spokesman 'Abdallah Ghawshah. The delegates described their meetings in Khartoum, held under the auspices of Sudan's Islamic leader Hasan al-Turabi, as 'very encouraging'."

SOURCE: *IRNA*, October 13, 1995 (Tehran)

Sudan support for armed factions of the FIS—responded to requests for arms, and formally arranged for weapons transfers.

SOURCE: *U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Aviation Administration, Criminal Acts Against Civil Aviation Report*, 1992, p. 42

"Mauritania has accused Sudan and the banned Algerian Islamic Salvation Front [FIS] of masterminding rising Islamic fundamentalism in the country by 'secretly funding secret Islamic organizations' whose aim is 'to topple' President Maaouya Ould Sid Ahmed Taya's government. . . . For the last year there has been a guerrilla training program in progress, and the maintenance of relations with Islamic fundamentalist groups—including the FIS based in Europe, Tunisia, and Sudan," Mauritania's Rachid Ould Saleh, Minister of the Interior, Post, and Telecommunications told AFP. "The 60 Mauritanian Islamic leaders arrested at the end of September, . . . who were later pardoned, were infiltrated by the aides of Sudanese Islamic leader Hassan al-Turabi," Mr. Saleh explained."

SOURCE: Paris *AFP*, November 7, 1994

On Middle-East Peace Process

"At the end of March the leader of the National Islamic Front (NIF), Hassan al-Turabi, presided over the third Popular Arab and Islamic Conference (PAIC) in Khartoum. . . . A common theme among many of the delegates was a rejection of normalised relations with Israel and support for the armed struggle against it."

SOURCE: The *Economic Intelligence Unit Ltd.; EIU Country Reports*,

May 14, 1995

Sudan Viewed Through the Eyes of Radical Islamic Jihad

The following is from an interview between Nafiz 'Azzam (Jihad spokesman) and Amir Bayati for *Vienna News*:

'Bayati: How do you envisage Palestine's future?

Azzam: There can only be a future when Israel is destroyed. Then we will es-

establish a Islamic state according to the example of Sudan where God's law is valid."

SOURCE: *Vienna News* (German), March 7, 1996

Al-Turabi's Connection to Muslim Brotherhood

The following is an excerpt of an interview by Mahir Muqlid for *AL-AMJALLAH*, September, 1995 (London) in Cairo with the 'former' commander of the [Muslim] Brotherhood militias, Ali Ashmawi:

"Muqlid: Is there any connection between al-Turabi in Sudan and the Brotherhood in Egypt?"

Ashmawi: Certainly, because al-Turabi was all his life a member of the Brotherhood and was its guide in Sudan. What has changed was actually only his outlook. He wants to be leader of the entire Islamic world, and has recently begun temporarily to refuse to heed the guidelines of the Brotherhood in Egypt out of his desire to become the Brotherhood's general guide. But when he called for the convocation of a large Islamic conference in Khartoum, Mashur [referring to Mustafa Mashur, deputy general guide of the Muslim Brotherhood] traveled there to attend it."

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Sudan-Iran Connection

Brigadier General 'Abd-al-'Aziz, Khalid 'Uthman, Sudanese opposition leader, is quoted as saying that his men have found training camps where Iranian 'ex-perts' train Sudanese in the areas of state security, intelligence and civil defense.

SOURCE: *Al-Akhbar*, February 19, 1997 (Cairo)

"A news report in al-Haram Monday says it has been established beyond a shadow of doubt that Hassan Turabi, leader of Sudan's National Islamic Front and the man Cairo regards as the real power behind Khartoum's military government, paid a recent visit to Munich, where a large number of extremists are based and which also serves as a center for funding terrorist operations in the region ... After Munich, Turabi flew to Tehran, the paper says, and it was only after his return to Khartoum that the Sudanese government announced it(s) charge that Cairo was involved in the alleged coup attempt ..."

SOURCE: *Mideast Mirror*, May 17, 1993, quoting Egypt's newspaper, *Al-Ahram*

"Iran, which has remained a strategic ally to Sudan, continues to cultivate good relations with Khartoum. In March an Iranian Foreign Ministry Under-Secretary visited the Sudanese capital to discuss ways of promoting bilateral relations. Several accords were signed in early April when the President of the Iranian parliament, Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri, visited Sudan ... This later agreement has been reported to contain the following provisions.

Iran will be allowed to use naval facilities in Port Sudan for military purposes. In return it will help to train the Sudanese navy.

Iran will expand its revolutionary guard involvement in training the Sudanese Popular Defence Force.

The two countries will set up a joint security apparatus to exchange intelligence and analyse information.

Iran will resume military aid and training.

Tourism and other visits between the two countries will be expanded.

Cultural and information exchanges will be pursued.

Eight cultural centres for the dissemination of the ideas of the Iranian revolution will be established."

SOURCE: *The Economic Intelligence Unit Ltd.; EIU Country Reports*, May 14, 1995

"Sudanese strongman Hassan Turabi, addressing what he described as the largest Islamic conference of its kind in modern history, has denounced the U.S. as a warmonger and defended Iran as a country trying to do right and right wrongs. ... The paper [Al-Hayat] quotes Turabi as telling the conference that America does better in conducting wars than in conducting peace initiatives, and that Iran is trying to do right and right wrongs but the U.S. is trying to bring it to its knees."

SOURCE: *Mideast Mirror*, December 3, 1995, quoting *Al-Hayat*

Turabi on extremism:

TURABI IN HIS OWN WORDS

"We are proud to go back to our roots and we are extremist in our principles. We are preparing to terrorize the oppressor and remind him of what is right."

Mideast Mirror, March 31, 1995

The Following are excerpts from Turabi's Speech at Al-Taqwa Mosque in Brooklyn, NY, May 7-9 1992:

"Now the state of Islam, perhaps one of the first countries in the world to go Islamic again is the Sudan, Alhamdulillah, after Iran, but among the Sunni Muslims, among Arab countries, the Sudan is the first state to go Islamic, and it experiences the same the same degree of isolation, and the degree of oppression, and the same attempt to suffocate Islam and to kill it in the cradle before and to stamp it out completely. There are propaganda campaigns against us, we are aware of them, and there was complete boycott, and there was military siege also and the unfortunate aspect of all this is that even so-called historical Muslim states were used against us, neighboring states who look to us as brothers, as neighbors, as fellow Muslims, as fellow Arabs."

"And ultimately we have to wage Jihad, true Jihad, not just struggle, but actively we have to fight to protect the state of Islam in the Sudan, because everybody was used against us, to subvert our security, in a military way, and we have to wage Jihad. And we discovered the baraka (blessing) of Jihad. When

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people fight for a certain value that value becomes so dear to them because they become prepared to spill their blood to protect it."

"I don't think the New World Order will persist for very long. The western world is a world of conflict. If there is no belief in Allah, there is nothing but conflict. Humanism ultimately breed conflict, because every human being ultimately wants to become the superhuman being, on top of all the world, and that immediately breeds friction and conflict... If anyone of you was asked five years back how long will the Soviet Union survive, you would have said fifty years, more so, a hundred years. But it just collapsed. The body can grow and can be inflated and can have attractive colors, but just one single pin, and everything will collapse, like a balloon. So people think that America is great now, it is omnipotent, it is omniscient. They know everything, they are everywhere, they can change international law with respect to Iraq and Algeria. They can just go away with international law and maintain their spirit universally. But this is power based on barbarism, it is a balloon, it looks very impressive but Allah has a time a for everybody. Once it has served its term, just one pin and phhhh, yes."

Dr. Hasan al-Turabi Visits the U.S. (video tape), 1992

Turabi on America and the West:

During press conference, following a meeting of an Islamic delegation seeking to mediate the Gulf crisis, Dr. al-Turabi informed his audience that the United States had enlisted the help of other nations merely "for its own interests, to express its own arrogance and its interest in furthering the Zionist expansion in the area."

The Independent (Amman), October 2, 1990

"The enemy is America... If we are challenged economically we will develop our own country, we are very rich; if we are challenged culturally we will develop our own culture; if we are challenged militarily, we will have to fight back."

The Daily Telegraph (London), Aug 15, 1995

"We have a heritage and a wealth of culture but their (the West's) life has been culturally empty. Even their music is now more like loud noise than serious music. They no longer know or read books. They are content with just watching television and switching from one channel to another."

Al-Quds al-Arabi (London), Feb 7, 1997

"The United States is nothing more than a Jewish grouping plus a number of European groupings and some African groupings who were taken there as slaves or serfs."

Al-Quds al-Arabi (London), Feb 7, 1997

Turabi on Harboring "Rebels":

"But Sudan is still more merciful towards our Eritrean brothers. About 750,000 Eritreans are still in Sudan. They came to us as fighters against Ethiopia. We could now turn them against the regime..."

Al-Quds al-Arabi (London), Feb 7, 1997

Turabi on the establishment of Islamic law in Sudan:

"We have come to uphold G-d's Shari'ah. Some of the upholders of Islam are young. They are the people most dedicated to the jihad and they are the promise of the future..."

Al-Quds al-Arabi (London), Feb 7, 1997

Turabi on Osama Bin Laden:

"He [Bin Laden] worked for Sudan. Now, on the occasion of the independence anniversary, the president has inaugurated the road to northern Sudan, which will stretch to the port. It is the road being built by Bin-Laden's company which is still building the shortest roads to the sea..."

Al-Quds al-Arabi (London), Feb 7, 1997

"He is aware of the appreciation of Sudan and those close to him for the things he has done and continues to do for Sudan. Many of them were

frank with him. They told him: If you prefer to remain in Sudan nobody will push you out. This is what they told him."

Al-Quds al-Arabi (London), Feb 7, 1997

Interviewer: "What is [Usamah] bin-Laden doing in Sudan?"

Turabi: "He is a big businessman and helps Sudan."

Al-Nahar (Beirut), Mar 11, 1996

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Turabi on resisting modernizing influences:

"There was no defeat. I believe they [the modernizing elements] have succeeded and have crushed the door of terrorism and fundamentalism. For this reason, they might have begun to propagate this impression and ease up against Sudan, and they have enjoyed this victory for some time. But when I come back, I will come many times more active than I was before. Now they have launched a siege against us in the United States."

Al-Quds al-Arabi (London), Feb 7, 1997

Turabi on Jihad:

"In an article published by 'Guiding Star' newspaper of Khartoum, Thursday, 8th June 1989, the NIF [leader], Dr. Hasan al-Turabi, called upon his Muslim supporters to be ready for jihad to face those who oppose Shari'ah."

BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, June 16, 1989

"The intellectual, dialectic, and Jihad (military) potentials should be combined in order to make cultural transformations... The Qu'ran is clear. Allah orders us to invite people to Islam with wisdom and beautiful preaching; and to argue with them in ways that are the best and most gracious. But we should be ready and cautious in order not to be deceived. We should be ready for Jihad."

Palestine Times, May 1997

"The fact is that the current issue [democracy in Sudan] is not one of human rights or democracy but of Islam, and the Islam I mean is the Islam that refuses to suspend the duty of jihad."

Al-Quds al-Arabi (London), Feb 7, 1997

Interviewer: "What is your opinion on the 'jihad' current? I am asking you now as an intellectual and leader in the modern Islamic movement."

Turabi: "It complements the call's current which began through preachers and writers. If this call has been preoccupied with materialism of culture and money, this should be complemented with jihad. This current emerged in countries where its presence has become necessary because the other party does not want to hold a dialogue. It only wants to fight."

Al-Wasat (London) Nov 7-13, 1994

Turabi expressed the need for the Muslim peoples to mobilize "in a struggle—or a jihad, if you want to use the Arabic word—to protect their territories and their holy land and their wealth." Should war break out, he predicted that

"there is going to be all forms of jihad all over the world because it is an issue of foreign troops on sacred soil." He went on to explain that this meant, "demonstrations, fighting, targeting the enemy everywhere."

The Independent (Amman) October 2, 1990

Turabi on the Palestinian/Israeli peace process:

"They [the Arabs] let it [Palestine] down, despite their Arab prestige. Even the Arab League almost accepted the establishment of a Palestinian state and an Israeli state, because Palestine is the root and the Israelis have seized it by force, terrorism, and looting... Now they are preparing to drop yet another degree. We in Sudan do not want to turn against them and thus we and not they become the focus of cameras' attention. We do not want the Palestinians to turn against each other so that both sides get killed, terrorism gets forgotten..."

Al-Quds al-Arabi (London), Feb 7, 1997

Turabi on Hamas activities:

"If what they are trying is to completely alter the situation in Arab Palestine, this cannot be achieved by killing one or ten people. I believe that the people in Hamas want to stop of some of their leaders by the Israeli security agencies. They are taking an eye for an eye. If this really is the situation, I can understand it."

Al-Nahar (Beirut), Mar 11, 1996

Turabi on Sharm al-Shaykh anti-terrorist summit in 1996:

"... it [the summit] seeks a confrontation with Islam as a whole, the Islam which produces both extremists and moderates. They want neither extremists nor moderates. They want to uproot both."

Al-Nahar (Beirut), Mar 11, 1996

Turabi on Iran:

"Praising the Islamic revolution in Iran and its accomplishments, al-Turabi said Iran and Sudan are at present regarded as the united base of Islam. This

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is threatening to the enemies of Islam, and they work to crush these two countries."

Al-Nahar (Beirut), Mar 11, 1996

"The secretary general of the Popular Arab and Islamic Conference, PAIC, Dr. Hasan Abdullah al-Turabi, affirmed that the special relations between Sudan and Iran do not represent any malice against any country or body, explaining that these relations emanate from religious values and future Islamic concep- tions."

Omdurman National Radio Unity Radio, Dec 13, 1995

Turabi's aide, assistant secretary-general of PAIC, Ibrahim al-Sanusi, on Hamas and Hezbollah:

... Hamas and Hezbollah groups have done nothing other than carry out acts of resistance inside the Palestinian territory because their aim is to regain the right and the land, which is lawful matter guaranteed by international laws and indeed by G-d's laws throughout history. Jihad and resistance by those who seek to retrieve their lands and who resort to their legitimate rights in this re- spect cannot be described as terrorism.

British Broadcasting Company, Dec 4, 1996

Turabi on Zionist Conspiracy:

Interviewer: "Do you believe the Zionists and the Americans are planning to drag the people of the Nile Valley into a major estrangement?"

Turabi: "Whatever happens between the Egyptian and Sudanese Govern- ments, they are exploiting it to create a crisis between the two peoples..."

Interviewer: "They [Egyptians] are fuming with anger over the act committed by the Ethiopian aggressive elements, who raped women, burned mosques, slaughtered old people, and enslaved young girls."

Turabi: "Yes, they raped our girls, burned the Koran, and looted property during Ramadan. They are the Ethiopians and the Zionists."

Interviewer: "What about Zionists tampering with the Nile sources?"

Turabi: "They are currently inciting Ethiopia to set up dams and to turn land into agricultural land, and the same is true of Uganda. Sudan gives part of its annual water share to Egypt."

Al-Sha'b (Cairo), Feb 21, 1997

Turabi on the International Islamist Movement:

Interviewer: "Is there an Islamic international?"

Turabi: "Yes there is. Here at the seat of this Arabic and Islamic People's

Conference [PAIC] in Khartoum, we have Muslims from all over the world, from Africa, the Middle East, Europe, America, and Japan. We have very good links with the Islamists in Tunis. We have advised Algeria's Islamic Salvation Front [FIS] to devise a political, economic, and international relations program."

La

Vanguardia

(Barcelona)

July

1995

Appendix 2

<http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/Documents/tar2002.pdf>

TERRORIST ASSETS REPORT Calendar Year 2002

SUDAN	\$27.5	Sudanese blocked bank deposits. Source:
	(\$0.1)	OFAC, Treasury.
		(Blocked in U.S. banks' foreign branches.)
	\$27.4	Net Blocked Sudanese Assets in U.S.

Terrorist Assets Report 2002

<http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/Documents/tar2002.pdf>

SUDAN	\$27.5	Sudanese blocked bank deposits. Source:
	(\$0.1)	OFAC, Treasury.
		(Blocked in U.S. banks' foreign branches.)
	\$27.4	Net Blocked Sudanese Assets in U.S.

Nine years later, Sudan was still supporting Islamic terrorism. From a Sudanese television program from 2004, President Bashir, who had replaced Sheik Turabi, as the Sudanese strongman was interviewed and profiled.

Sudanese TV

Aired sometime between July 26 and August 2, 2004

President Bashir said, "We are going to follow the way of **Shuhada**. And we have promised with Shuhada that the banner of Islam will not fall down." He also said, "The Sudanese army has sacrificed with everything, with their blood and their jihad to protect the country. They never faint and we will never faint. And we promise the Shuhada, that the Islamic Banner will continue to wave. The army had sacrificed with the best of their children. And we promised we will follow their way and we are going to keep this banner

flying high. We are promising the Shuhada will be loyal to their banner, that they make **jihad for its sake and they die for it**. The flag of Islam, the flag of peace, the flag of unity.”

The TV showed an officer who gave a poem before he went to die. And he said that they have a bullet that knows its way to the enemy, which knows its way to the enemy, which has a label. And this label is not in Hebrew, and not in another language. This label is ‘La illa ila Allah, and Allahu Akbar.” **The officer is Lieutenant Wadu’a Talla Ibrahim, the martyr**. Another soldier also made a point, that they are following **the Shaheed who carries the Quran in his heart**.

In another Sudanese program, name As-Samir (which means the people who sit in the evening and tell stories), they brought a peasant, who gave a speech. He said, “**If any power comes to enter Sudan, we will fight them till the death. Either we will uproot them or they will uproot us. We are the people of Jihad.**”

The Minister of Agriculture of Sudan said, “We declare standby for all Sudanese forces to fight against any forces of the UN or the US. Any power that comes to Sudan, we are going to fight it.”

Vita of Steven Emerson

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Steven Emerson is considered one of the leading authorities on Islamic extremist networks and international terrorism, financing and operations. He serves as the Executive Director of The Investigative Project on Terrorism, a non-profit organization that serves one of the world's largest storehouses of archival data and intelligence on Islamic and Middle Eastern terrorist groups. Emerson and his staff frequently provide briefings to U.S. government and law enforcement agencies, members of Congress and congressional committees, and print and electronic media on terrorist financing and operational networks of Al Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, and the rest of the worldwide Islamic militant spectrum. Since 9-11, Emerson has been interviewed hundreds of times on all the major television networks and quoted throughout the national and international print media. The website of the Investigative Project on Terrorism, which was started in September 2007, is now considered one of the top counter-terrorism websites in the world and can be accessed at www.investigativeproject.org.

Emerson launched The Investigative Project on Terrorism in 1995, following the November 1994 broadcast of his documentary film, "Jihad in America," on public television. The film exposed clandestine operations of militant Islamic terrorist groups on American soil. For the film, Emerson received numerous awards including the George Polk Award for best television documentary, one of the most prestigious awards in journalism. He also received the top prize from the Investigative Reporters and Editors Organization (IRE) for best investigative report in both print and television for the documentary. The award from IRE was the fourth he had received from that group. The documentary, which was featured on *60 Minutes*, has become standard viewing for federal law enforcement and intelligence organizations.

Recently he produced a brand new documentary in late 2012 called "Jihad in America: the Grand Deception" (www.granddeception.com) which is an expose of the covert infrastructure and influence of militant Islamic groups like the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas in the US. The film has won "Best Documentary" in the 2013 Beverly Hills Film Festival and in the Myrtle Beach International Film Festival and was honored as "Best USA Documentary on a Political Subject" at the New York City International Film Festival.

In 1994, Emerson produced and reported his first documentary called "Jihad in America" which focused on the transplanted Islamic terrorist cells that enabled the first bombing of the World Trade Center in February 1993. Nearly every one of the terrorist suspects and groups first identified in his 1994 film have been indicted, convicted, or deported since 9-11. The documentary won the George Polk Award, one of the most prestigious awards in journalism. Emerson is recognized as one of the first terrorism experts to have testified and warned about the threat of Islamic militant networks operating in the United States and their connections worldwide. In a pioneering congressional testimonies delivered in both 1997 and 1998, he specifically warned about the threats issued by Osama Bin Laden and the danger to American security his network posed.

Emerson has consulted with and lectured many times before the FBI, CIA, National Counter Terrorism Center, Defense Intelligence Agency, Department of Homeland Security, Joint Special Operations Command, Centcom, National Security Agency, Department of Defense, Department of Justice, Secret Service, the US Treasury Department, and police departments and Fusion Centers in every major city in the United States. Besides authoring or co-authoring 5 books on terrorism and intelligence (listed below), Emerson is the author of hundreds of articles on the terrorist operations, financing and locations of Al Qaeda, Hamas, Hizzbollah, the Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic Jihad, and nearly every Sunni and Shiite terrorist group in the world.

Emerson is the author or co-author of six books on terrorism and national security, including:

"Jihad Incorporated: A Guide to Militant Islam in the U.S." (Prometheus, 2006)

"American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us" (The Free Press, 2002)

"Terrorist: The Inside Story of the Highest-Ranking Iraqi Terrorist Ever to Defect to the West" (Villard Books /Random House, 1991)

"The Fall of Pan Am 103: Inside the Lockerbie Investigation" (Putnam's Sons, 1990)

"Secret Warriors: Inside the Covert Military Operations of the Reagan Era" (Putnam's Sons, 1988)

"The American House of Saud: The Secret Petrodollar Connection" (Franklin Watts, 1985)

Prior to starting the Investigative Project on Terrorism, Emerson worked as a correspondent for CNN and previously as a freelancer for the New York Times Magazine and as a senior editor at US News and World Report. His first job in Washington DC in 1977 was as a staff researcher for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He has a BA and MA from Brown University and once ran a marathon in 2 hours, 59 minutes, a feat he was never able to repeat again.